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Dr. Homer Jack, Peace News correspondent in the Far East, interviews Burma's Minister for Industries

"No big army for us" —U Kyaw Nyein

From Dr. HOMER JACK

Rangoon

BURMA is a great new country, not only because of its international leadership for peace, but because of its courageous domestic programme. I arrived in Burma just in time to be among those who saw Prime Minister U Nu leave on his world tour.

Everyone in Rangoon said that there was one leader whom I must see: U Kyaw Nyein, Minister of Industries, Co-operatives, and Commodity Distribution. I protested that I was not an economist. But wherever I went, whatever question I raised on any topic relating to Burmese policy, I was told that the ultimate answer lay in the fertile mind of U Kyaw Nyein.

The 8-year plan — and difficulties

And so, toward the end of my visit to Burma, I was invited to the home of Mr. Nyein. Looking ten years younger than his middle-forties, Mr. Nyein soon showed himself to be one of the most competent statesmen I met anywhere in Asia. He greeted me in his large house in the northern part of Rangoon, while his children practised the piano and generally were under foot.

We discussed, at first, the rather ambitious eight-year economic plan—Pyidawtha—which had been launched in 1952. The plan reads, in English, almost like a prose poem, although the visitor to Rangoon soon hears whispered in the Strand Hotel that all is not going according to plan.

Nyein told me that the plan has been going fairly to schedule, but they had not anticipated the drop in the rice market. This has affected their foreign exchange. Next year Burma will not make any new capital developments which will necessitate foreign exchange.

Rebels preferred

Among other problems preventing the plan's fulfilment are the ever-present corruption, a lack of skilled administrators and engineers, and the insurgents.

This last is quite a problem in Burma—as in Malaya and Indonesia. Some of the rebels are Communists ("white flag" or "red flag" Communists); others are Karen nationalists; many are just plain bandits. All have given the government of the Union of Burma an unhappy time.

Nyein told me that "the rebels have been smashed, but they are still a problem." He volunteered the information that the Government could build up their military forces and wipe out the rebels in short order.

However, he said, "we are not keen to do so, for Burma is a small country and a big army can be a menace to any country. Once it is activated, its demobilization would make a crisis. So Burma prefers to live with her rebels than have a potentially rebellious large army."

Another of Burma's problems is land. Again the government is being sensitively experi-

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TEN years ago this week the United Nations was founded. This historic photograph (top) shows former United States Secretary of State Edward Stettinus signing the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco on June 26, 1945.

At a special celebration to commemorate the anniversary, the representatives of the original 51 UN members—plus nine countries which have since joined—gathered this week at the San Francisco Opera House, where the Charter was signed.

Far away from the disputes and altercations of the Security Council and the Political Committee of UN, the other United Nations is at work—the UN of the Specialised Agencies, the relief teams, the health workers, the educators, the agricultural technicians.

The achievements of these functional branches of the Organisation far surpass anything ever done by international co-operation in this field before.

In the bottom picture an agricultural scientist is at work examining rice hybrids, as part of a plan to double rice yields in the Far-East. The plan is being conducted by several Asian governments with the technical assistance of the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN.



After the arrest. Civil Defence officials and police look on as 28 New York pacifists file into a police van in the City Hall Park. PHOTO: NEW YORK TIMES.

Mock H-bombs drop on U.S. cities

28 ARRESTED AFTER C.D. DEMONSTRATION

JUDGE SETS BAIL AT £15,000

By JIM PECK

One of the 28 arrested demonstrators

New York

A PACIFIST civil disobedience demonstration during the June 15 nation-wide civil defence drill ended with the arrest of all 28 participants.

Our plan had been to walk across City Hall Park during the alert—after people had been ordered to shelters—and to present to the Acting Mayor a letter signed by Dorothy Day for the Catholic Worker, Ralph DiGia for the War Resisters League, A. J. Muste for Peace-makers and Kent Larrabee for the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation.

AN ILLUSION

The letter pointed out that "Such public and publicized civil defence tests help to create the illusion that the nation can shield people from war's effects: We can have no part in helping to create this illusion."

As we were about to get up from park benches and walk toward City Hall, we were halted by Civil Defence officials and arrested under the state Civil Defence law, which provides penalties of up to a year in jail and \$500 fines. Some of the group, including myself, were carrying placards saying: "End War—The Only Defence Against Atomic Weapons."

We were herded into a police wagon, which had been driven onto the park's sidewalks, and taken to jail.

In a speech which might

★ ON BACK PAGE

AND IN CHICAGO

This "Statement relative to the Civil Defence drill" was issued in Chicago last week by Paul Macy and John W. Willard, Local Secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee.

THE American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation view with concern the plans for a great "Civil Defence" demonstration to be held June 15. They share, with others, in the strong desire to protect lives and prevent unnecessary suffering. They realize that the proposed activities are being planned, and will be carried out, by people of the best intentions. They believe, however, that aspects of the demonstration are quite unrealistic and are likely to lead to a situation in which our people are placed in greater jeopardy because of them.

This belief is based upon the undisputed testimony of leading scientific and military authorities to the effect that there is no real defence against all-out atomic war, except the prevention of war itself. Many scientists have been troubled by the government's continued emphasis upon keeping as much information from its citizens as possible—as witness the withholding of the true reports of the Bikini tests for about a year. The implication that the recent tests in Nevada show how one may be safe by having the right kind of shelter were branded by civil defence leaders as unrealistic because, admittedly, if nuclear war starts, it will be carried on by planes travelling at supersonic speeds and intercontinental guided missiles bearing hydrogen bombs of hundreds of times the force of those tested at Yucca flats.

To have a sense that there is security in measures proposed—such as bomb shelters or evacuation—is to lessen the intensity of the struggle for peace, by peaceful means. What is most important for the American people is to be trained in the ways of waging peace rather than to waste energy in schemes of defence which do not protect or defend. Man must end his ways of violence or violence will destroy mankind.

To dramatize the urgency of the situation, the American Friends Service Committee will, on June 15, distribute thousands of copies of an informative statement, and display posters calling for adequate peace-making which will be real defence. This activity will be preceded and followed by periods of prayer and meditation. They call on all concerned citizens to use the civil defence drill as a time for prayer and searching of heart.

"No hiding place down here."—Page 6.

TEN YEARS OF UN



June 24th 1955

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Let no human being be trodden underfoot for the outward prosperity of the state.

—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING

TEN YEARS OF UN

THE tenth anniversary of the United Nations is being celebrated in San Francisco this week.

The anniversary has a particular significance because the UN Charter provides that if a conference for the revision of the Charter should not have been arranged before the tenth General Assembly the question of the arrangement of such a conference should be dealt with at that session, the arrangement of such a conference to be decided on by a majority vote of the members of the Assembly, supported by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

It would seem to be very questionable whether such a conference will be arranged and even more questionable whether it could be of any value if it were.

The most striking commentary on the present position of the United Nations is that at the time of this anniversary celebration the eyes of the world should be turned, not upon UN itself, but upon the "summit" meeting of the leaders of four big powers as possibly providing some prospect of a relaxation of tensions and improved hopes of peace.

Should this Four-Power meeting produce positive results—should there follow a period in which the people of the world can cease to feel that they are constantly living on the edge of catastrophe; a period in which progress can be made in the improvement of international relationships, with co-operation for human welfare becoming the main preoccupation of UN rather than efforts to curb and mediate in an incessant power struggle—it may be possible to discuss with profit the question of amending the UN charter to provide for such things as universality of membership; the extension of the trusteeship principle to all non-self-governing peoples; and the decrease of the domination of the proceedings by the great powers through the development of the principle of the representation of people rather than powers.

It is however such an improvement in international relations that must come first; it is impossible to bring about a change for the better by seeking, in the conditions of the power-struggle that exists in the world today, to make major changes in the UN Charter.

For the Charter is based on the character of the world as it is and the fact that the most industrially advanced nations continue to place their reliance on military power as a primary means in the protection and furtherance of the national interests.

It is the recognition of the calculations and motives that actuate the Powers that explains the provision that there shall be permanent places on the Security Council for the most powerful. It is this same recognition that dictates that there shall be unanimity on any action of importance that is to be undertaken, because it is recognised that such action without unanimity must jeopardise the whole structure and create the danger of a breakdown into war; it is thus that the "veto" comes to operate.

In looking back over the ten years that have passed it can be seen that it was the circumventing of this veto by one group of powers in the power-struggle that produced the slaughter in Korea and came near to bringing world war. In the absence of Russia, the US was able to bring the Security Council to a decision on Korea that was a practical violation of the principle for the defence of which the veto had been introduced.

If the world can avoid the disaster that is threatened by the existence of the H-bomb it is to be hoped that at some time in the future the veto may be dispensed with, but this must come as a result of a growing spirit of accommodation and a readiness by all to defer to the general will, rather than through the ignoring of the existence of the danger that prompted the provision for the veto.

In the field of positive activity for human welfare UN has an inspiring record of achievement.

There has never before been such extensive promotion of health, welfare, education, and technical development—all humanly desirable things that are also means to the creation of international goodwill. Some of the finest minds have been attracted to this work and opportunities for inspiring human service are being opened up.

UNESCO in particular has gone a long way towards developing a programme aimed at the basic causes of human conflict and distress.

UN has suffered in the development of such activities as these because the wholehearted service it is able to recruit in such fields is not sufficiently backed by the powers. Resources are trickled in this direction in niggardly fashion only after the military needs of the power struggle have been met.

It is in this field that UN offers the greatest hope for the creation of the conditions of peace. If the nations were to turn to the development of these activities by the allocation of greater resources and the enthusiastic furthering of the work to which they are to be devoted they could not only provide a vast increase in human happiness but they would at the same time be dealing with the basic causes of conflict and make possible the building in the future of a new and more hopeful UN organisation.

UNESCO and the Barriers of Discrimination

LAST April the UN Economic and Social Council organised a conference at Geneva on methods of combatting prejudice and discrimination. It was attended by a number of non-governmental organisations, ranging from the World Federation of Trade Unions to Pax Romana. Many of these had submitted memoranda on the subject, indicating the ways in which they themselves had been able to combat discrimination against groups and individuals on the ground of their religion or colour. It must be confessed that neither the memoranda nor the reports of the conference itself strike one as very exciting. The contributions, inevitably, speak in very general terms, and discrimination is a thing which is easily condemned in the abstract, and notoriously difficult to get rid of in practice. Not many people would disagree with Dr. Ralph Bunche's assertion in his opening address that prejudice and discriminatory practices

"are costly to the world in general, in the sense of a reckless squandering of a substantial part of our world's greatest resource, its people, through the deliberate denial of opportunity and growth to those discriminated against, thereby rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for them to make any significant contribution to humanity's progress."

In particular cases, however, there is always a "but," and since this conference was not able to go into much detail over the various

origins of that "but," the reports of its proceedings leave an impression of diffuse ineffectiveness.

One of the most specific recommendations was "the establishment of recourse, individual and collective, before international bodies," that is, in effect, the setting up of a tribunal to safeguard human rights.

Human rights

The idea is an interesting one, but its limitations can be seen if one imagines some of the cases that might come before it.

What would a Polish Catholic gain by bringing a complaint that his religion exposed him to discrimination?

The main value of the conference probably lay in its bringing together organizations of such an astonishing variety for a common purpose, even if the purpose was rather nebulously defined. Such meetings must do something to create an atmosphere in which attitudes fostering discrimination can be relinquished.

A summary but useful account of these attitudes, and the way people can be helped to grow out of them, has been written by Dr. Gordon W. Allport, of Harvard University. It is "The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions," a pamphlet (price 25 cents) published by the American National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Dr. Allport pays particular attention to the fact that prejudices are not like "a cinder in the eye," something that, once taken out,

Eisenhower's optimism

THERE was a passage in the speech of President Eisenhower in opening the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the United Nations on Monday that contrasts strikingly with the kind of statements that have been emanating from other quarters in the State Department, from journalists and from anonymous "diplomatic circles." We do not think we can do better in opening these comments this week than by quoting it:

"The summer of 1955, like that one of 1945, is another season of high hope for the world. There again stirs in the hearts of men renewed devotion to work for the elimination of war. Each of us is witness that never in ten years has the will of many nations seemed so resolved to wage an honest and sustained campaign for a just and lasting peace."

"True, none of us can produce incontestable evidence to support this feeling. Nevertheless, all of us, I think, will testify that the heartfelt longings of countless millions for abundance and justice and peace seem to be commanding response from their governments."

"Cold war": A worn-out phrase

THE British, American and French Foreign Ministers are reportedly agreed that the Geneva meeting should be limited to three or four days, with a possible extension of a day or two should the conference clearly be making headway; and they prefer that these initial talks should be governed by no defined agenda.

It is obvious that there are not likely to be very weighty decisions taken at this first meeting. What it is reasonable to hope for is the realisation that whatever disagreements may exist among them they must not now be permitted at any time to break down in war as this would mean the destruction of the hopes and aspirations of all, however much these may be in conflict.

If the talks result in a general admission of that fact the Geneva meeting will have been well worth while, for it will have produced a different attitude of mind from that which has hitherto been brought to the consideration of international relationships.

One outcome of the talks for which we hope is the abandonment of the term "cold war," or at least the acceptance that its use by statesmen has become an intolerable piece of bad manners.

The Americans have a gift for coining snappy and picturesque terms. These terms and phrases are an export that call for no payment in hard currency. Their freshness and frequent humorous penetration leads to their being taken up by the young people of the other English-speaking lands, and they are often regarded as an adequate substitute for wit in conversation; then, of course, they become worn-out and wearisome.

We hope that "cold war" can now be regarded as worn out by both journalists and politicians.

We think it just to hold (whether or not it is to be explained by fear and suspicion) that in diplomatic and UN relationships the Russian attitude during the Stalin period was outstandingly prickly and hostile. The Americans designated the resulting relationship that developed as "cold war," and the crystallisation of hostility that was effected by such a term was in itself a cold war act.

The relationship between the Russian group of nations and the American group does not provide the first example of international tension; indeed there have been few periods in the past two centuries when there has not been international tension of some kind. These

leaves vision normal, unprejudiced. It is part of the whole social system, the whole personality, which is not readily changed. The problem has, therefore, to be tackled from as many directions as possible, and education, group re-training, legislation, intergroup contacts, even individual therapy—all have their part to play.

Pacifists, incidentally, will be grateful to Dr. Allport for his insistence that discrimination cannot be ended by manipulative techniques. Manipulation and discrimination belong to the same world—a world in which men feel they must either dominate or submit.

"Ultimately," says Dr. Allport, "there is no solution to the problem of intergroup tensions excepting the inner growth of serene and benevolent persons who seek their own security and integrity not at the expense of their fellow men, but in concert with them."

One may still wonder, however, whether any driving force more immediately dynamic than the growth of serenity and benevolence is likely to reduce discrimination. Part of the answer is given in the spring number of the American socialist quarterly, *DISSENT*. In an article on "The Changing Status of the Negro," Bob Bone argues that the caste system of negro and white in America is rapidly disintegrating.

Since 1940, he says, "the ram horn has been sounded, and the walls are tumblin' down." He attributes this to two things. First, the

BEHIND THE NEWS

periods of uneasy peace have not, however, been designated by any kind of fixing term like "cold war." Nevertheless, although they have been free from any such dangerous designation carrying implications of permanency and thus encouraging the development of a "pre-war" psychology, such earlier periods of tension have usually ended in war. The present period must not be permitted to end in war if a worthwhile humanity is to survive. All concerned in both of the blocs are fully aware of this.

Let us therefore see an end of "cold war."

Nyasaland people sold

THE people of Nyasaland have not had to wait long for confirmation of one of the fears that led to the antagonism they expressed with such deep feeling against their inclusion in a Central African Federation.

What was distressing them in the arrangement was that their linking up in the Federation would be likely to bring their conditions closer to those under which the native inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia lived, and that they dreaded.

A new constitution has been prepared for Nyasaland. The Africans held that racial partnership might at this stage be expressed by racial parity in representation, which means that the Africans would have as many representatives on the Legislative Council as the Whites. As there are two hundred times as many Africans as Whites, this might have been regarded as a modest request—one might almost say a humble one.

It is too much for our Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, who has rejected it on the ground that it would stir up racial emotions elsewhere in Central Africa; in other words, the Africans in Southern Rhodesia might be encouraged to advance a similar claim and the White government of that territory would not like it.

That the Nyasaland people have been deceived as well as brow-beaten is now evident, and we hope that in the new Parliament that section of the Labour Party that is opposed to imperialism will raise again the whole question of the principles upon which Federation was imposed upon the peoples of Central Africa.

South West Africa

A DECISION of the International Court of Justice may have considerable consequences in Africa.

In a report from a United Nations Commission on South-West Africa, which is administered by South Africa under a mandate, one of the findings is that "the main efforts of the Administration are directed almost exclusively in favour of the European inhabitants of the territory, often at the expense of the native population."

When this matter was last before the United Nations Assembly, discussion upon it was held up by means of the South African contention that unanimity was required before the matter could be discussed. If this were upheld South Africa would be able to exercise a veto on discussion. Should this hurdle be surmounted it is possible for the Assembly to take a decision if a two-thirds majority is in favour of discussion. The International Court has reached the unanimous advisory opinion that the two-thirds voting procedure applies.

Should conditions in South-West Africa be discussed by the Assembly

the conditions exposed and condemned will be much the same as the conditions obtaining in South Africa, and not only in that part of the Continent.

A General is sacked

THE "Top Brass" in the armed forces pretty well everywhere are notoriously inclined to be belligerent in any public statements they make.

This is quite natural and to be expected, and given the premises upon which they base their thinking, is not without its justification.

In war, generally speaking, "the best defence is attack" and thinking about the matter as soldiers it is clear that the various commands will be likely to reach fire-eating and murderous conclusions. They often pride themselves that they are not concerned with politics and this prevents them from understanding that what they are saying will often have grave political implications.

Like people in other departments of life, the soldier too can develop vocational pride. For the generals that does not express itself in smartness in drill but in the development of new strategies and military techniques which can only be tested in action.

Although the politician may talk about the building of great forces and the piling up of more and more ingenious instruments of destruction "defence" it can hardly be expected that the military commander will do other than regard his working life as wasted if he is never to bring his skill and knowledge into action.

Hence those politically irresponsible outbursts from the Van Fleet, Carney, MacArthur and Radford. While the American Command this kind of thing has become an almost everyday affair, with the development of internationally organised forces such as NATO, there has also been a lessening of restraint upon leading British military figures and we can nowadays get the kind of thing that has to be looked for from General Montgomery.

In Canada it would seem, the Government is not so complacent about military, naval and air force leaders launching out upon public statements that have important political implications.

Air-Vice Marshal John Plant has been content with the size of the force with which he is associated and recently he has been publicly advocating that the means to the expansion of the force could be provided if the army were to be abolished.

He has also proclaimed that the Western powers are "keen, willing and anxious" to go to war against the Russians whenever they want to attack, and however the people of the Western powers may feel about it, Vice-Marshal Plant's comment probably represents the views and desires of the military leadership of at least some of the Western Powers.

Lt.-General Guy Simmonds, however, does not take Vice-Marshal Plant's view as to the desirability of dispensing with an army. He happens to be an army man. He therefore has been publicly advocating conscription as a means of expanding the army, in opposition to the policy of the Canadian Government.

Vice-Marshal Plant has now been removed from his post as Chief of Canadian Air Force Technical Services to that of Air Material Commander, while General Simmonds is to be retired as from August 31. He is 51 years of age, and senior officers in the Canadian forces are not normally retired before 55.

A. J. MUSTE

A. J. Muste, who contributes weekly "Letter from the USA," was among the 28 New York pacifists arrested last week and later released on bail.

He was due to appear in court yesterday. [See Page 1]

By Geoffrey Carnahan

increase of industry and mechanised agriculture in the southern states means that negroes are tending to become urban workers instead of plantation labourers and are thus in a better position to secure equal rights. Second, under the stress of the world power struggle, "white supremacy" becomes a luxury. The garrison state, a jealous god, knows no other gods before it—not even so venerable an American deity as a white skin."

Britain and India

It would be unwise to be cynical over this. It is probably true that the right thing has never done until it can be done for the wrong reason, but a contribution to doing it has always to be made by people concerned to do the right thing for the right reason. Britain's withdrawal from India was in a sense "historically inevitable," but we are all glad that a Labour Government, which thought on principle that India should be free, happened to be in power in 1947. Perhaps the strongest selfish reason making for the abolition of gross inequality and discrimination is the fact that the traditional violent methods by which dominant groups enforce their superiority are becoming a dangerous to use. The possibility of a suicidal explosion is one that we must face but there is some hope that men will react more positively. The conference at Geneva in April is one indication that they may do so.

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I RENOUNCE SUPPORT This pledge the basis of Ser P.P.U. Dick Sheppard

CONFERENCES, WORK CAMPS AND PROJECTS

Minnie Pallister to speak in Wales

MORE than 60 reservations have been taken up for the Peace Pledge Union's Summer Holiday Conference at Borth, on the Welsh coast, from July 30 to August 6.

Speakers include Minnie Pallister, the well-known Woman's Hour broadcaster, and Sybil Morrison and John Kay.

Eight families are among those attending. Bookings are still being taken, subject to accommodation being available. The fee is £6 10s. for adults; £5 7s. 6d. for children, payable to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Canon Raven to lead on 'Education for Living'

"PEACE and War begin in the Minds of Men," is the title for a final symposium at a week-end conference under the auspices of the Iona Education Centre to be held at Beatrice Webb House, near Dorking, Surrey, from October 7 to October 9.

Subject for the conference is "Education for Living: The Human Problem." The Chairman will be Canon Raven, President of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Conference fee is £3 3s.

The Iona Education Centre (10-12 Exhibition Road, S.W.7) is an informal fellowship founded in 1944 and run on voluntary lines.

Only 8s. 6d. a day in Germany

THE "House of Friendship," the international Peace Centre at Buckeburg in Germany, has been very active this year. Not only Quakers, War Resisters and other peace organisations use it as a conference centre, but its own international staff—German, Swedish, British and American—arranges special courses and conferences all through the year, and volunteer-workers (who contribute manual labour and comradeship) are always welcomed for periods of two weeks or more.

Three conferences for young men of military age from surrounding towns have been held this year, and at Easter a good international school on Education and Peace. A full term's course for Scandinavian students was so crowded that fifteen applications had to be refused.

The next two conferences take place during July 2-12, on international social questions (UNO, Youth Work, Penal Reform, etc.); and during August 3-13 on Race Problems.

At the latter the British speakers will be Anthony Richmond and Reginald Reynolds, both well-known writers on the subject. It is hoped that a good contingent from Britain will get across to these conferences—hitchhiking, maybe, if they have no money for fares.

The inclusive cost for a conference at the Heim is 8s. 6d. a day. Enquiries and enrolments should go at once to Aubrey Brocklehurst, 77 Brent Way, Finchley, N.3. Tel. Euston 5501 (day) and Finchley 6450 (evenings).

Building a village hall

THE following are work camps arranged by the Friends Work Camp Committee in Britain for this summer:

For 16-18-year-olds

July 30-Aug. 13 *Newport*, Essex. Complete construction of village hall.

July 30-Aug. 22 *Edinburgh*. Level and pave courtyard for old people. Indoor repairs and decorating.

Aug. 6-29 *Shirley*, Nr. Birmingham. Erect youth centre.

19 and over

July 2-Aug. 1 *Lawrence Weston*, Bristol. Help erect Community Centre.

Aug. 6-Sept. 5 Possibly *Lambeth*, London (to be confirmed). Re-erection of playground hut.

In most camps local people will be helping and there will be plenty of opportunity to get to know them. Camp programmes will follow usual Quaker camp pattern with a daily quiet time and opportunities for talks and discussions.

Further information and application forms are available from Friends Work Camps Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Books for African libraries

A SCHEME to help libraries in Africa has been started in the United States by the LaVerna Foundation. Fifty libraries in English-speaking Africa have been located and contacts established with about forty. To these libraries will be sent books and other materials of which they are in need.

Needs will vary from district to district, but it seems that South Africa will be one of the places most urgently requiring help in view of the new educational policies. Books for African libraries in the Union may help to relieve tensions by promoting friendship with white friends overseas.

All but one of the countries served are British colonies. The organisers would therefore like to keep in contact with British people as well as Africans in order to help the plan along. Enquiries may be addressed to Elizabeth E. Hoyt, LaVerna Foundation, African Libraries Project, Round Pond, Maine, USA.

Student from Cambridge had 5,000 words for Tribunal

"NO THINKING CHRISTIAN COULD DROP A-BOMB"

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AN architect who rejected the idea of earning an additional £200 per annum, because the work involved was part of the rearmament programme; an Australian Roman Catholic who refuted the plea of "just wars," a religious objector who failed to remember the first Commandment, twin Jehovah Witnesses, and a student with a 5,000 word statement featured at Fulham Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on June 10.

John Garbutt ("I wouldn't help me if my name was Garbutt!"), cycled to Fulham from Cambridge, because of the rail strike. The Clerk of the Court jokingly suggested that Garbutt could have brought witnesses on his carrier, but Garbutt's witness was the 5,000 word statement which, except for minor questioning, gained him conditional exemption without further evidence.

"Though I was familiar with the words of much of the Scriptures," wrote Garbutt in his statement, "they seemed to have little relevance to the way normal people lived. The missionary fervour of the New Testament scarcely corresponded with the deep lassitude of the Congregational Church I knew."

"In the summer of 1952, at the age of 19, between my first and second years at Cambridge, I sat down to re-read the New Testament, and after making a tabulated comparison of the Four Gospels, wrote a version

of the Life of Christ in modern English with an everyday English setting. It ran to 60,000 words.

"One of the first things I awoke to was that I had been tacitly sanctioning war as a just solution for international difference. Earlier I had said flatly:

"I believe that it is perfectly possible to be a Christian and to drop an atom bomb on a crowded city at the same time."

"Gradually, I came to realise that any thinking Christian could not contemplate such actions without qualms and self-questioning so serious as to make him unfit for the task."

Divided Churchmen

"Responsible Churchmen I found divided, in spite of such unequivocal pronouncements as that of the Lambeth Conference:

"War as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord."

"The Lambeth Conference also said very pointedly, and without being considered unpatriotic:

"The Christian can make no terms with the idea expressed in the phrase: 'My country right or wrong'."

"It seems to me that neither the philosophy of negotiation from strength, nor disarmament, nor 'peaceful co-existence,' nor military action 'in certain circumstances' outside our control, are even faintly adequate to the true situation. Only the Cross seems to me to be adequate. The Way of the Cross is to meet evil with good, to love and to transform one's enemies even at their most destructive, whether one has the power or not to negotiate by destruction, to meet even the final brutalities in forgiveness, and self-sacrifice."

"Clearly this must begin on the personal level, and that is why it is my purpose to become an instructor of Christian teaching in schools."

"My activities at present include support for the Fellowship of Reconciliation of which I am a member, running a Church bookstall, which I started earlier this year to encourage responsible and informed thinking on problems of Christian life—and deliberate day-by-day argument and discussion with people encountered at College."

Argument with editor

Of a meeting with Shaun Herron, Editor of British Weekly, Garbutt said, "(He) spoke against Christian pacifism, and in an argument afterwards the same issue emerged. He quoted Reinhold Niebuhr, the American theologian, who, while admitting that the ethic of Christ is pacifist, does not believe pacifism to be practical because of the evil in the world. Thus are the conclusions of non-pacifist Christians befogged. So are the flowers of the garden picked to allow the weeds to grow."

The status of the Christian pacifist was concisely summed up by Garbutt in these closing words:

"The pacifist does not imagine himself free from the corruption and responsibilities of this world. On the contrary, he attempts to combat the corruption—instead of acquiescing in it—by taking on further responsibilities, for Christ's sake."

Garbutt asked for unconditional exemption, on the grounds that he knew he had to teach religious instruction in schools. "I don't think that the type of service you can offer me is as important as the work I can do," he said.

Sir Gerald Hargreaves, Chairman of the Tribunal, reminded Garbutt that the Tribunal do not "act on the principle of letting people off because they can find something better to do," and in granting conditional exemption advised him that if he wished to carry the matter further, he must go to the Appellate.

★ ON PAGE FIVE

U.S. women write to new "Secretary for peace"

"THE United States can develop a better policy than building more and more armaments... a policy based on confidence and faith, rather than on fear and suspicion..." says the US Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in a letter to Mr. Harold Stassen, the President's newly appointed adviser on disarmament.

Another letter went to President Eisenhower, commending him on the creation of the new post occupied by Mr. Stassen and expressing "our earnest hope that this will mark a long step forward towards the goal of universal total disarmament."

The National Annual Meeting of the American WILPF is scheduled for July 10-15 at Mills College, Oakland, California.

Mau Mau wanted boys' rifle

A POSTSCRIPT on the murder of two white Kenya schoolboys by the Mau Mau emerged recently.

In a statement issued by the Kenya Government on the case it was said that the murder resulted from the terrorists' decision to capture an air-rifle which the boys had. The statement goes on:

"The Government appeals to all parents not to allow their children to carry a weapon of any kind that resembles a revolver, gun or rifle."

THEY TOLD IT TO THE MARINES

—But the Marines didn't like it

A CLASH with the Marines while poster-parading brought the Youth Fellowship of Reconciliation in California, their first appearance on TV in a nation wide hook-up.

As reported in the June 3 Peace News, Armed Forces Day was celebrated throughout the USA by military parades with the theme of "Power for Peace."

In Long Beach 13 YFWR members countered with a poster parade and armed themselves with a special leaflet asking "Where is our power for peace?" Their posters bore the slogans: "Thou shalt not kill; War today is suicide; H-bomb knows no politics; We oppose both Russian and American militarism."

Crowds of servicemen expressed their hostility by snatching leaflets and tossing them



The crowd was hostile

on the ground. The pamphleteers recovered their leaflets only to have them again tossed down. Then a group of Marines began pulling down the posters and tearing them up. The group, under CORE discipline, offered no violent resistance.

Kate Collins writes:

"In evaluating the experience, participants felt that the value of poster walks lies in the fact that currently unpopular ideas do not reach most people thru well-established channels, so a less conventional and more direct means of expression must be used. Unconventionality has a value in itself because of the powerful drive for conformity present in our society, and a vigorous minority voice helps keep our democracy a reality."

Minority groups often tend to isolate themselves from the general public and through poster walks they are able to make a direct contact with the man on the street; to know his fear, his apathy, the doubt or hostility he holds toward the pacifist position on war. The crowd in Long Beach was quite hostile and at times somewhat afraid, and for those reasons communication was at a minimum.

The Fund for the Republic sent a newsreel cameraman to cover the poster walk. He obtained some excellent shots, used on television, including the tearing of the posters."

CORE discipline: The Congress of Racial Equality, a Fellowship of Reconciliation backed group, trains its workers to accept baton attacks and rough treatment when defying colour bar regulations.

The case of the Doty brothers

SECOND IMPRISONMENT

FOUR pacifist brothers, the sons of William N. Doty of Bruno, Minnesota, have recently been imprisoned for the second time because of their refusal to comply with conscription laws in the United States.

In 1951 they were imprisoned for refusing to register with the Selective Service authorities.

While they were in prison the first time they were registered against their will for Selective Service by the prison authorities. Now they have been jailed for 2 years for refusing to report for service when called.

One of the brothers, Joel, was released from prison one month before his 26th birthday, when he would no longer be subject to the draft. But instead of leaving it at that, the local draft board classified him as employed in an essential civilian occupation and thus extended his draft liability to age 35. His lawyer says that he was unemployed at the time of classification.

Several newspapers in the United States have published the facts of the Doty case, and there have been editorials asking if the preservation of individual rights is not in jeopardy as a result of the treatment of these men.

The main point of contention in the case was explained by William O. Reichert in an article in the Minnesota Daily. It is, he writes, "not legal, but moral. The right of the individual to object to military service on grounds of conscience stems from society's recognition of the fact that some religious groups are opposed on principle to participation in war, and that members of these groups should not be forced to act against their religious convictions."

Narrow religious formula

"But the Government's conception of religion is exceedingly restrictive. As the law now stands, the individual is only permitted to object to military service if he is a member of a recognised formal religion. But as Patrick Murphy Malan, the executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union, says: 'the sincerity of conscientious objectors should not be judged by the test of a religious formula so narrow as to exclude ethical or humanistic beliefs.'

"One of the basic principles underlying the Dotys' position seems to be that Christianity tends to border on hypocrisy if it is not rigidly applied in practice. This accounts for their refusal to claim religious grounds as the basis for their objection to military service... the 'church,' for the Dotys, is nothing less than the entire body of humanity."

Mr. Reichert concludes: "Whatever stand one may personally take in regard to war and military service, the member of a democratic society must recognise the dire consequences which flow from suppression of a minority point of view such as that represented by the Dotys."

BUT

NO one was able to send £100 to bring up the total of the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund to the half-yearly mark by the middle of the year, in response to my previous appeal, but one generous friend sent £50 on certain conditions, and we received £10 in memory of the Union's old and valued friend, Alexander Wilson. As a result the Fund now stands at £454, and there is still time to reach at least £500 by the end of June.

The word "but" is generally used in a limiting sense, though sometimes with a sense of satisfaction as above. More often, however, its use implies such a limitation to the previous phrase as virtually to discount it. When statements made about the incompatibility of war with the purpose of God are followed by a "but," which justifies war under certain circumstances, instead of a "therefore," the result is to render the original statement ineffective, instead of showing how it should be implemented.

No wonder Shakespeare wrote "But me no buts"—yet the matter has a personal application. Do you belong to the "buts" or the "therefores"? Is your attitude "Of course, I believe the H-bomb to be evil and that war should be abolished, but what can I do about it?" or "therefore I must renounce war and do all I can to secure total disarmament"? "Of course, I am a member of the Peace Pledge Union (or a reader of Peace News), but I can't be bothered to do anything else" or "therefore I must do what I can and give as much as I am able to help spread pacifism"? Please do not be a "but": become a "therefore" and send in your contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund as an indication of this.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1955: £1,000.
Amount received to date: £454.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

The Fellowship of Reconciliation in Czechoslovakia

AFTER World War I Heinrich Tutsch was secretary for the students of German tongue in the Czech Young Men's Christian Association in Prague.

With him I tried to work for a mutual approach of Czechs and Germans who had become citizens of the newly-created Czechoslovak State.

In 1923 Tutsch acquainted me and some of my Czech friends with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. We could hardly believe that there existed an international fellowship of people who had the courage to refuse military service during the war, though we had heard of a few conscientious objectors in the Austro-Hungarian and German armies who had paid with their lives for their faithfulness to the claims of conscience.

So five of us were very glad to accept an invitation to a conference that the IFoR was holding that summer at Nyborg in Denmark. Our eager expectations were not disappointed. The personalities who gave their stamp to the whole gathering impressed us greatly; inspired by their ideas we returned home with the firm decision to establish a branch of the FoR in Czechoslovakia. Following up our lectures and tours of information a number of men and women of Czech, German, Slovak, Hungarian and Jewish origin applied for membership. The first years were devoted to formulating the basis, and then our activities developed in all fields on which our members and friends were working: religious, cultural, social.

BARRIERS

The FoR group had not got an easy situation in the midst of a people who had reached independence after centuries of oppression and went now through a mania of nationalism. We had very friendly relations with the War Resisters' International, but the "law for national defence" did not allow the forming of a WRI section; so we tried to link up all war resisters and COs in our FoR branch. From different parts of the country we heard of courageous individuals who had resisted conscription and served repeated sentences of imprisonment. All of them had come to their conviction independently, out of deep religious feeling, without the backing of an organisation.

Among all pre-war activities of our Prague FoR branch it was the holiday-exchange of Czech and German youths inside the country that became the most important. Young Czech people were invited into families of German tongue, and vice versa. It was the best method of doing away with prejudice. Personal friendships and co-operation between groups of people separated by language and race barriers grew up. After the death of Heinrich Tutsch this field of work was very ably carried on by his wife Eliska Tutschova.

HITLER

But Hitler's raid into Czechoslovakia brushed it all away. Eliska Tutschova saved her life by escaping in time to England where she is still living. Several of her co-workers and many members of the FoR group died in German concentration camps.

The FoR branch ceased formally to exist under the Hitler "Protectorate"; but it lived on in spirit. The "Aryan" members tried to support the outcast Jews in every possible way, particularly by frequent clandestine home-visits that broke the heavy spell of their being ostracised.

I was myself fortunate enough not to fall under the hard grip of Nazi terror, though I had very narrow escapes. Once I was summoned to the Gestapo—and this usually meant the end of freedom. After a long interrogation the officer charged me with having brought food to Jewish children and helped them with an outfit before their deportation. "Yes," I answered, "but from a human point of view you will understand it." After a while of silence the man said: "You can go." It was so unexpected I could not at first believe it.

All through those dark years of Nazi occupation we were conscious that we might any moment be dragged away. The knowledge of the world-wide family of friends was a great source of strength. Now and then German FoR members came to see us Czechs who were supposed to be outcasts for them. They deeply impressed us by their humble mind and awareness of a tragic dilemma.

1945

The year 1945 did not bring us the expected renewal of our FoR branch as a registered society. There was such a vehement reaction to Nazi cruelties committed against the Czechs that the mere word "reconciliation" would have roused public opinion and the authorities against us.

And yet it was the time when the FoR spirit could best prove its strength.

The remaining members of the group and their friends had prepared to care for the Jewish children who would return from concentration camps. (Within a few weeks they had about two hundred in four manor houses near Prague rapidly converted into children's homes.) But they also struggled against blind retaliation on German civilians: from the pulpit, and through interventions in high quarters. It proved impossible, however, to hold up the outbreak of national passions, misused by political parties in their struggle for power. So we concentrated our efforts on moderating the sad effects by giving individual help in every possible way to the Germans now interned by the Czechs.

It was the German children who were most in danger. In a short time many had died of malnutrition and epidemics in the internment camps. So we now collected them into our children's homes as far as room permitted,

This is the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Fortieth Anniversary year. How this Christian Pacifist movement spread to Czechoslovakia and survived the Nazi regime is told here by a Czech pacifist, Premysl Pitter, now engaged in welfare work among refugees at Camp Valka, in Germany.

and all those who had cared for the Jewish children now cared with the same devotion for the starving Germans, among them a Jewish doctor and a Jewish teacher who had experienced the horrors of German concentration camps and lost all their relatives there.

Christmas, 1945, though simple and poor in material gifts was impressive in all the homes, but most so at Castle Stirin where a remaining group of Jewish youths and a newly-arrived group of former Hitler boys happened to be together. Singing German and Czech Christmas songs in common under the loving leadership of Czech friends became an unforgettable experience to them.

About 400 German children found shelter in our Czech homes in the course of nearly two years. Many had lost every trace of their relatives on the wild flight before the collapse of Germany or during the chaos of revolution in Prague. It was often a year or more before mothers could be traced and the children sent back to them. All the children, old enough to think, left with a bridge of reconciliation in their hearts.

When the last Home could be closed, another very important service of reconciliation

developed in the office of our permanent Home in Prague: more and more enquiries came in via the German Red Cross, from parents still looking for their children lost in Czechoslovakia in 1945. Other agencies, still handicapped by national feelings, did not give them the necessary attention. Our friends went into them all, and traced hundreds of children.

TO-DAY

So the spirit of the FoR has been at work in Czechoslovakia all through the years without being named—and it is still so today. But it would not be wise for me to speak of the present activity. For again it goes against the wishes of those in power. Work for real brotherhood towards all men is still suppressed, this time by the Communists. The "Partisans of Peace" are fostered by the Government because they do not oppose home-armaments and the ruthless methods of the regime. This is an attitude not compatible with the Christian principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Always be ready to meet the opponent on a man-to-man basis, to help him when in need—that is the way of Christian reconciliation.

TRANSATLANTIC TOUR



Dr. Richard Ullmann (left) a British Quaker lecturer and writer, is shown here with friends during a recent tour of the United States on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee. Reading Peace News with him are Charles F. MacLennan, Secretary of the Ohio-Michigan Region of AFSC and Mrs. Don O. Noel of Akron Friends Meeting, Ohio. The photograph first appeared in the Akron Beacon Journal, with a report of Dr. Ullmann's address in that town.

Dr. Ullmann was born in Germany, and during the Hitler period was interned in a concentration camp. He has lived in China, where he lectured on the staff of Sun Yat Sen University some years ago, and in Australia.

NEW APPROACHES TO HEALTH

A Doctor's Faith Holds Fast by Christopher Woodard. Foreword by the Bishop of Exeter. Max Parrish, 12s. 6d.

Those who enjoyed the very popular A Doctor Heals by Faith will welcome this sequel to a spirited book on a topical subject.

Whatever else may be said about Dr. Woodard's writing nobody could call it dull. This is a racy account of the author's experiences as a healer of disease, interspersed with much outspoken comment on the Church, the medical profession, and the various unorthodox bodies that practise faith healing.

It is not, however, a scientific study of the healing movement which is such an interesting phenomenon of modern religious life, but rather a collection of the author's reminiscences with very frank personal expressions of opinion.

A critical judgment might find it almost incoherent, for it has the incoherence of one who has something to say so important and urgent as to defy formal presentation. Indeed the most valuable and moving feature of Dr. Woodard's books is the simple faith which he confesses to be both the motive and the power of his career as a doctor.

This frequently repeated testimony carries conviction, but it leaves us wondering how much Dr. Woodard's success owes to his pro-

fessional skill and how much to his childlike faith in the healing power of Christ.

There are many other questions which the critical reader might be inclined to ask, for the book is of the kind that raises more questions than it answers. But if a doctor can treat successfully reputedly incurable diseases we need not be too curious as to how he does it. His work will speak for itself.

L.M.

Food for the Over-Forties by Cæcilia E. M. Pugh, M.Sc., Ph.D. Plymouth Council of Social Service, 1s. 6d.

Dr. Pugh, a foundation member of the PPU, who for many years has given her attention to the pressing problem of Old People's Welfare, deals with the important but rather neglected subject of nutrition for the elderly. It is a very readable and useful little publication, touching on many aspects of old age and pointing out how much physical trouble could be saved by paying more attention to the diet both before and after old age sets in, wisely advocating a more frequent use of fruit and vegetables than is generally thought necessary. She gives useful lists of food values and a chart containing menus for a week. The book may be read with profit by adults of all ages.

E.W.T.

SCIENCE AND PEACE

By John Ferguson

Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

Towards a Science of Peace, by Theo F. Lentz. Foreword by Julian Huxley. Halcyon Press, 12s. 6d.

"SCIENCE," said Alex Wood "is Power without Wisdom." "Science," wrote Rabelais "sans conscience n'est que ruine d'ame." This today is painfully obvious. There was a time when we said:

Life is a vale; its paths are dark and rough. Only because we do not know enough. When science has discovered something more we shall be happier than we were before.

Today this scarcely seems plausible. Science is patently ambivalent. The aeroplane may be used to rush a doctor hundreds of miles to save a life, or to drop bombs. High explosives may be used to take life, or to clear the way for new roads, to blast in quarries and to build civilization. Bacteriological knowledge may be used to prevent disease or to inflict it.

Scientific research is however of two kinds. Aristotle said that wonder was the beginning of philosophy, and it might be said that curiosity is the beginning of science. Despite the Marxists, it is clearly true that much of our scientific advance in the control of our surroundings derives from a disinterested desire to know something whose applications cannot be remotely foreseen. This "pure" research must always remain and it cannot be directed. Sir Henry Dale warned the British Association a year or two ago of the danger that science may "overspend its capital," by ignoring fundamental research and concentrating on practical applications. Over against this fundamental research stands technological advance, which is deliberately pointed in a particular direction. Dr. Lentz produces some interesting figures to show the misdirection of modern technology. The amount appropriated by the US Congress for the military researches of the Atomic Energy Commission comes to \$1,700,000,000 in a single year. The corresponding figure for the National Research Foundation is only \$3,500,000, a figure about one five-hundredth of the other, and even that is only partly non-military.



Dr. Lentz's thesis may be briefly summarized in his own words. Humanity is at a crisis. The crisis is cultural. The crisis is that of a sick society. The immediate critical issue is the institution of war. War is a human activity. Men potentially have a deep desire for peace. Man's potential passion for peace is forestalled by the lack of adequate knowledge. Absence of a solution demands search for the solution. The search must be scientific. The search requires a division of labour. The search must be sizeable and soon. Peace must be paid for. The first search is search for research funds. A new pattern of faith is required. A special confidence in social support is required. The individual must decide—decide to act—to act co-operatively.

There is nothing here that has not been said before, and it is not necessarily said better because it is said in scientific jargon, but it is always good to find it being said, in whatever language. Some of us may feel that Dr. Lentz overestimates the possibilities of a scientific sociology. We may be hesitant about his articles of faith. We may feel that he makes large assumptions in a spirit which hardly accords with his scientific professions. We may doubt whether ethics is quite as easily reducible to analytical categories as he seems to think. We may hold that he omits the basic factor seen by the Jew of old who said "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." But even if we are sceptical of the pretensions of scientific humanism, it is good to find scientific humanists giving a forthright call in the direction of peace.

We shall certainly agree with his desire to redirect the forces researching into the applications of science. As Longfellow put it:

Were half the power which fills the world with terror,

Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,

Given to redeem the human mind from error,

There were no need of arsenals nor forts.

Says Julian Huxley, very fairly: "To the increasing number of people who are no longer satisfied with the world's traditional ideologies, and to all who are profoundly perturbed by the threat of suicidal war, commend Professor Lentz's book."

No Socialist is complete without

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Peace News and the Election

WHILST I appreciate that Peace News exists to advance the cause of pacifism and not any particular political party, I feel some comment on your attitude to the election, and the Gravesend result in particular, must be made.

On June 3 Tom Wardle wrote, "Acland resigned from the Labour Party because there was no longer any room for him to express his moral repugnance to the H-bomb in the Party." This is absolutely untrue. The writer is obviously outside the Labour Party and completely unaware of the feeling amongst a large number of Labour people and in local Labour Parties.

Sixty-one other Labour MPs refused to vote for the H-bomb in the Defence Debate and a large number of Labour candidates did go as far as Acland in their election campaigns. Many of us went further and made our opposition to war itself and military conscription quite clear.

Yet throughout the election campaign Peace News seemed to give its main support to a person, who was opposed apparently only to some war weapons. Why?

Secondly, Sir Richard Acland, himself, in his article "Report on Gravesend" (Peace News, June 10) refers to the difficult position in which he placed Labour supporters. Elections are not fought on one issue and voters have to consider home as well as foreign policy. The H-bomb is a very important issue but is not even the only factor in foreign affairs. I believe the Labour Party acted very unwisely in encouraging an official Labour candidate at Gravesend. But it was Acland's act, in resigning from the Party and Parliament, that was the initial cause of this dilemma facing Labour voters in Gravesend.

I have never been able to understand why he resigned and threw up his seat. Obviously if he had not done so he would still be Labour MP for Gravesend today and could have made his attitude on the H-bomb quite clear during his election campaign.

I disagree with Geoffrey Carnall. Quite clearly Acland's resignation was mistaken. I hope all pacifists and would-be followers of Acland are going to learn their lesson from this election. It is absolutely futile to fight elections as "independents" on a single issue. The handful of votes all the "independents" received gives a completely false picture of public opinion on the H-bomb, as the News Chronicle Gallup Poll of May 11 revealed.

As many of us found by experience years ago, it is to Labour MPs, such as Emrys Hughes, Victor Yates and many others, that pacifists have to look to voice our views in Parliament.

You now write "a serious loss to the pacifist representation is the defeat suffered by James Hudson, Labour MP for Ealing North by 246 votes." Yet what did Peace News do to help Jimmy Hudson compared with the build-up it gave to non-pacifist Acland and independents like Lovegrove and Fenner?

If London pacifists had been told by PN to go into Ealing North to help Jimmy Hudson rather than to Battersea North and South Lewisham, there might well have been one more pacifist MP in this Parliament.

It is high time pacifists learnt a little political commonsense.

RON HUIZZARD.

Editor, Labour Peace Leader and
Labour candidate, Croydon, N.W.

4 Stanley Rd.,
East Finchley, N.2.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore we are grateful to those who are organisers of events to:

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; APP; Fellowship of Reconciliation FOR; Peace Pledge Union PPU; Society of Friends S of F; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom WILPF.

Thursday, June 23

ILFORD: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Cleveland Rd., Discussion re Independent Candidates for future General Elections. FOR.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss Simcox "German Holiday." PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 7.45 p.m.; Hampstead Friends Mtg. Ho., Heath St., Musical Evening. Grapophone Records. Presented by George Plume. Refreshments. PPU.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queen's Park Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m. Campbell Wilkie and Keith Bovey. Glasgow PPU.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

FRIDAY

EVERYWHERE, anytime, street-selling PEACE NEWS. Copies supplied "sale or return." Posters free. Send for your quota today to 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

or collect from the steps of St. Martin-in-the-fields, Trafalgar Square between 5.30 and 6.30 p.m.

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Pier Head, Open Air Meeting. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

Letters to the Editor

Work inside the Labour Party

PEACE NEWS has not given the support to the Labour Pacifist candidates that it could have done.

The election addresses of a number of these candidates and their speeches put the pacifist case to the electorate; something that the candidate at Gravesend did not do (it was the Pacifist Joint Committee that refused to support the H-bomb Petition on the grounds that it did not go far enough).

There is a splendid opportunity of doing valuable work for peace inside the Labour Movement, which does not only include the Constituency Labour Parties, but Trade Unions and Co-ops, many of which have gone on record expressing views far more pacifist than Sir Richard. He could have made his stand against the H-bomb and German Re-armament inside the Party, like Victor Yates, Emrys Hughes and George Craddock, who have all increased their support in the Party for their views.

I do not recall that at any time Sir Richard made a stand like that of these three MPs, and he should have known the consequences of his action.

This idea of independent candidates, has resulted in the wasted efforts of many, and money which could have been more usefully sent to Peace News, so that it could carry out the task of educational work which is so vital. Acland could have fought the Gravesend election on the H-bomb issue inside the Party, and won it. I honestly don't see how much influence has been made on the country as a result of the Campaign.

I have been a reader of Peace News for the last 17 years, and I would like to extend its influence on the political life of the country, not be the organ of those who in the long run may result in its downfall.

The paper could have an enormous circulation inside the Trade Unions, Co-ops and Constituency Parties if it wanted to, without upsetting the views of those pacifists who are not socialists.

DENIS BRIAN.

24 Breakspears Rd., S.E.4.

Use the by-elections

THE 1955 Peace Union Annual General Meeting rejected a pacifist policy. Whether that was wise or not—time will show. The PPU has consistently, in season and out, said it is not a political party. So when a General Election comes pacifists disappear and become Labs, Cons, Libs or Inds. Is there any wonder, under such circumstances, that pacifism makes no impression.

The wisest thing for Mr. Bird and those who think like him to do is to write to Eric Fenner at 14 Parkgate Road, London, S.W.11 and join the new political movement. Then through by-elections and the next General Election we may be united enough to make a real pacifist impression.

ALBERT LEAPER.

22 Barrington Ave., Hull.

Leniency in Spain

IN your brief news item (May 27) about Fernandez, the Spanish war resister deported from the USA, you ended by saying, "It is reported from Spain that the regime there has recently proclaimed a policy of leniency towards the various kinds of exiles from Spain."

Lest this raise any false hopes in Peace News readers, I should like to contribute the informed opinion that whether or not a policy of leniency has been proclaimed, it does not exist.

According to "Le Monde Libertaire," 8 Anarchists, including 2 women were arrested

last month. If they are not executed, or receive at least long prison sentences, they may consider themselves most fortunate.

ARLO TATUM.

War Resisters' International,
88 Park Ave., Enfield.

"The point of being a pacifist"

IN "The Point of Being a Pacifist" (PN June 10) Oliver Caldecott says he finds in the pacifist movement a tendency to rate essentials too highly. He may be right, but I find in his article a tendency to rate essentials far too low.

Surely the essential point for pacifists is pacifism—or am I putting it too simply? I agree that our task is above all to secure peace, therefore we should be concerned primarily with pacifism as applied to national policy; we should be working all-out for "national pacifism," not because we are afraid of being contaminated with lesser ideals, but because that is the way to secure peace.

I submit that the essential foundation for a pacifist policy has very little to do with "the re-creation of international confidence and reasonableness"—that is a sentiment one might expect from Sir Anthony Eden, but not from a pacifist. The essential foundation is a willingness to renounce military power and all that that implies, even when there is no international confidence and reasonableness. To my mind that is the right and the common sense thing to do, and if we do it, it will then begin to bring confidence and reasonableness into the situation.

"National pacifism"—or what I have called Toldas—is therefore not a starry ideal for the distant future, but a practical alternative to the power politics of today, which we must and can bring about, if only we will put our backs into it and stop dissipating our energies with inessentials.

Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal

★ FROM PAGE ONE

Edward Miller, a married Architect's assistant, basing his objection on moral grounds, told the Tribunal that he was aware that pacifism is not a magical solution. "But I believe it is the only possible course," he added.

As a member of the Youth Hostels Association, he had tried to obtain vacancies with his wife in Hostel work, and so be of greater use to the community. This was in addition to his work as an architect, in which he was engaged in slum clearance with the London County Council.

He had been offered a better position, with an increased salary of £200 per annum, but this he had rejected as it entailed taking part in the rearmament programme.

The Tribunal awarded him conditional exemption, saying that it was evident that Miller had devoted a great deal of thought to his stand.

Live in a desert

"Every individual has the right to life." This was the basis of a conscientious objection made by John Hewson of Finsbury Park. His objection to military service was borne out by a statement from his schoolmaster who testified that Hewson had twice asked to be released from his duties with the school cadet force.

When asked if he would consider the Non-Combatant Corps, Hewson said that this was backing-up the Armed Forces. "What about paying taxes?" asked Tudor-Davies. "Don't they, too, back the Armed Forces?" Hewson replied that he had to draw the line some-

I do not think the time has yet come for pacifists to formulate a full programme—though there is no harm in thinking about it—but when they do, it must be a programme with national pacifism as its fundamental distinguishing feature, not one which vaguely "may or may not include unilateral disarmament."

There are many other movements and ideas which can legitimately claim our support, but if we give them anything other than side-line support then we are in danger of neglecting our central task, which is to promote a new outlook in international affairs, finding expression in the complete renunciation of military power. It is to that that we are called. It is by that that we make our characteristic contribution to the building of peace—a contribution which no one else can make and without which peace cannot be built. Let us go to it!

ALAN LITHERLAND.

16 Harlech Rd.,
Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.

The Toldas Group

OLIVER CALDECOTT'S reference to Toldas implies a misapprehension. This group stands for a complete reversal of our present national policy and involves unilateral disarmament.

Its members are convinced that this measure must and will bring about the peace of the world, and thus their task is, as far as in them lies, to influence public opinion. This does not however debar them from supporting, or feeling free to support, such movements as, for example, World Government, Colonial Freedom or the Banning of the H-bomb. These objectives would appear to be parts of a larger whole and in so far as they are gained must surely bring us nearer to the one goal—the elimination of war from the world.

G. M. FAULDING.

22 Westbourne Terrace Rd., W.2.

Tribunal

where, otherwise he would have to go to live in a desert!

"It cannot be denied that this applicant has read and thought a great deal about the subject," said Sir Gerald Hargreaves when granting conditional exemption.

Ask the priest

Barry Lambert, an Australian, and a practising Roman Catholic, will probably appeal against the Tribunal's decision to remove him from the register of conscientious objectors, because his grounds are based on Christian doctrine, and not on Catholic dogma, which assents to some wars being "just."

When asked if he had discussed the matter with his priest, Lambert innocently replied "No, because he is not a pacifist."

He was told by the Tribunal that he had some very big ideas about himself, and that the priest was a very learned man, who would know all the Roman Catholic doctrine.

"You need to discuss this with another priest and another," said Tudor-Davies, "but you haven't tried to talk to anyone."

When the Cunningham twins, both Jehovah Witnesses, appeared before the Tribunal, a witness engaged in a controversy with Sir Gerald Hargreaves concerning the definition of the word "pacifist."

Sir Gerald said that it meant, "one who will fight spiritually but not with carnal weapons," but the witness denied this, referring to Webster's Dictionary, in which the definition is given as "one who does not engage in warfare of any kind with any weapons."

The twins were not exempted.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WIDOW, late thirties, pacifist, country lover, would appreciate pen friends. Please write Box 646.

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The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a male aged

Report from Burma

mental about its methods of land distribution. Nyein admitted that his government has made mistakes in some areas, but they are doing the job of land reform piecemeal and on a pragmatic basis. He said his government is like a nurseryman watching the plant carefully, noticing any unforeseen symptoms developing out of land reform.

Another problem is democratisation of the administrative levels between the village and the central government. Also the very fact of no major opposition party worries—believe it or not—the party in power. Socialist boss Nyein told me this:

"As a democratic socialist party working in a political front, we believe in political democracy and hate a one-party dictatorship. We believe in the necessity of an opposition party. Unfortunately, the opposition has been weak and the only effective opposition has been Communist—which doesn't believe in democracy. However, we've taken the risk to give the Communists democratic rights even though we know they'll use them to kill democracy."

Nyein feels that though the problems of building an infant democratic state are tremendous, once the people have learned democratic habits for a period of fifteen or twenty years, then they will not tolerate any kind of totalitarianism, Communist or Fascist. He asserted, "This is our hope and confidence and we are acting on it. So far we socialists have managed to keep the initiative."

Since several democratic revolutions in Asia have bogged down, I asked Nyein the secret of the success of the socialist front: the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League. He said that the first factor was personal: Prime Minister U Nu gave the front his bold leadership, although technically he is not a Socialist Party member. Secondly, he felt that the leadership of the Socialist Party in Burma is fairly united and what few splits the party has had have been for the better. Thirdly, he modestly admitted that "the Socialist Party leadership didn't lose its head when things were dark or get drunk with success when things are brighter."

With the obvious triumph of democratic socialism over Communism in Burma, I asked what it was that put toughness into the hearts of the Burmese socialists, a toughness not always evident in socialists of the west.

Nyein admitted, "Perhaps democratic socialism does have some inherent problems. Our belief in human rights and civil liberties does effect our determination and will-power to go ahead in critical moments."

He referred to socialism in Germany and Britain with great historical insight. Thinking the problem over, Nyein asserted that "socialists are not determined enough to face crises, can be too soft for a revolutionary movement, and can be helpless and handicapped in dealing with totalitarians."

They can be, but Nyein and his colleagues in Burma seem to be the exception. Turning to Burma's relations with the world, Nyein said that her foreign policy stems from three sources:

1. The great suffering of the Burmese during the Japanese occupation of World War II and the civil war still today;
2. The impossibility of building a prosperous country in a warring world; and
3. The subjection to pressures of the cold war form both sides.

No to U.S. aid

He plainly told me that "war, whoever wins, is a graveyard for democratic socialism." He spoke of the political situation which led Burma to stop economic aid from the United States, at a time when she needed the aid, but needed just as much her self-respect (protesting the presence of Chiang Kai-shek troops well within her borders).

Nyein said, "We are proud beggars with plenty of self-respect and thus we are starving."

He said that the best way the US and the UK can save southeast Asia from the clutches of Communism is to stabilize the prices of southwest Asia's principal raw material exports: rice, rubber, and tin. He said that a few millions spent now to keep prices of these commodities stable will do more good than the expenditures of a few billions after it is too late.

One of the curiosities of this socialist regime in Burma is the attention paid to Buddhism—officially. This made me wonder just how doctrinaire even this democratic socialism is. I asked Nyein and he said this:

"We are not bookish in our socialism. We go to the original objectives back of Karl Marx—humanitarianism—and by-pass the violence and the atheism of Marxism. So long as man can't solve the problem of death, religion will be there and people will think of life after death. And so many of us socialists are good Buddhists. Why not?"

I left U Kyaw Nyein, knowing I had spent almost two hours with one of the architects of the New Burma and the New Asia. He is one of Burma's shrewdest strategists for keeping the world at peace and South-East Asia free from Communism.

ON WITH THE WAR!

The three-day atomic defences test in the US estimates "casualties" at 14,750,000, including 8,200,000 dead. The number of "homeless" is put at 25 million. On the credit side is the saving of 5,250,000... by evacuation from 24 of the 61 cities under attack. The general conclusion was that this would not mean a general collapse. The war could still go on.

—Daily Telegraph, June 18, 1955.

This must be done (new Reserve programme for the US armed forces) for the security and safety of the USA and its 165 million people. America must remain strong. We must never let down our guard until we can be assured that the peace, for which we so earnestly pray, is coming in such a way that we can have confidence in its effectiveness.

—President Eisenhower, June 18, 1955.

It is frequently stated in the Press, and suggested by other non-pacifists, that Russia's willingness at this stage for "summit" talks, and the general slackening of the "cold war," is due to the "Peace through strength" policy of the Western Powers.

No doubt it is in support of this policy that the USA has been conducting its farcical atomic test upon 61 cities. It is impossible to believe that there could be any reality in the estimated numbers of "casualties," nor in the "evacuation" figures, since, in fact, no explosion has taken place, and the removal from large cities (for which in the event, there might be no warning), was probably carried out under full police direction and control.

★

The truth is that if an H-bomb attack was launched on each of these cities without warning, the chances of getting away the uninjured, if there were any, would be so remote as to be in the realms of the impossible.

It is not, however, my purpose to examine the details of these so-called "defence" experiments, but to examine the underlying reasons for putting on such an expensive and

colossal act of insane showmanship.

To prove to your own people that though eight million odd are dead, and a further million injured, plus 25 million "homeless," the war can still go on is, perhaps, the most savagely ironical piece of consolation ever offered to a long-suffering public intelligence.

But, if this possibility is proved to the satisfaction of the Government of the USA, it no doubt is also proved for the USSR. They too can count their "blessings," and murmur to each other that in spite of the dead and dying and wounded and homeless the war can at least go on! Obviously a matter for extreme rejoicing, though whether the wretched survivors of the holocaust will think so is plainly a question which will now be examined!

In any case there seems nothing at all that could stop the two sides (if such monstrous devastation and destruction will not) from going on until they had destroyed not only each other, but perhaps the whole of life on earth.

★

Eisenhower's words following upon their elaborate and nation-wide "defence" test, and coming at a moment that is very near to the arranged "talks," seems to be singularly unconvincing and ill-timed.

To go to the negotiating table shouting about America remaining strong, keeping up her guard, and looking upon all efforts for peace with suspicion, is scarcely likely to allay Russia's own suspicions on this subject.

Had Russia conducted tests of this nature, and if Marshal Bulganin had then made a speech declaring that the USSR must remain strong and never lower its guard, there is no doubt it would have been interpreted here as a sign of continued aggressiveness, if not worse.

To "earnestly pray" for peace aligned to such war-like words is a most tragic denial of the whole meaning of prayer; peace will never be secured by such means.

The truth is that Russia also believes in negotiating from strength, and it is much more likely that her willingness to meet and talk is due to the fact that the Kremlin now considers their armaments to be equal with, if not greater than, the Western Powers.

If any kind of peace agreement is to be secured from these "talks" it can only be through some positively peaceful action: it can never be effective while either one side or the other are engaging in such a dangerous farce as has just been played in the USA.

Someone must make some gesture that will indicate that the fight is off; renunciation of atomic weapons might well be the equivalent of lowering one's guard. It would certainly make sense at the "talks," and is the obvious first step to total disarmament.

Starting next week

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A series of profiles written for Peace News by REGINALD REYNOLDS

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Chicago's CD Exercise: An open letter to Eisenhower

From LAWRENCE SCOTT, American Friends Service Committee Peace Education Secretary in Chicago.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Well, they had that play-like civil defence manoeuvre in Chicago, about which I was telling you last week. A fellow by the name of Robert M. Woodward seemed to be the main ramrod back of it.

He made the prize under-statement of the year several days before the event. At least the Sun-Times quoted him as saying: "Public inertia in this thermo-nuclear age can lead to disaster."

Some of us figured a mild statement like that would have to be shouted in a vinegar barrel before anyone would hear it.

We know our Government has been asking people to think pretty deeply about this war business, and how it might destroy us all and all of that; so some of us decided to do all we could to put on a little "operation alert."

We passed out about 7,000 leaflets like the one enclosed and walked through the "loop" with posters. It wasn't a big thing like this fellow Woodward was putting on, but we think it may have been better alerting in the long run. Of course, it's just a gamble that we'll get a "long run" out of this arms race with suicide weapons, but I and the people who put on the "little alert" are chumps for the long shot.

A minimum of red paint

Well, there we were walking along State Street with posters and sirens going off all around us. I know you'd be interested in what some of the signs said. (We were careful to use a minimum of red paint on account of this Red scare that's going around.)

We had quotes from Jesus of Nazareth: "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword," and "Overcome evil with good." From Mahatma Gandhi we had "Democracy and violence go ill together." Francis of Assisi contributed the prayer, "Where there is hatred, let us sow love."

It would never have done to have used only that kind of quotes from radicals. You may remember, Gandhi was assassinated several years ago in India by the more conservative elements. Jesus, who lived in an age less subtle and refined in its cruelty (although it is doubtful if that age would have been so impersonal and calloused in the application of mass violence) was crucified by the powers in control. If I recall correctly, St. Francis died in bed, but he sure was investigated a lot by Prelate and Prince.

Anyway, we thought it best to use a few quotes of a more conservative nature. So we posted that statement of Gen. H. H. Arnold, "Victory in atomic war is no longer possible," one by Admiral Radford, "The best way to win a future war is to prevent it."

For something really solid, we used that statement from International Control of Atomic Energy issued by the US Department of State in January of 1947—"For the foreseeable future there can be no adequate military defence against atomic weapons."

You see what I mean. While the three radicals were considerably more consistent in their

NO HIDING PLACE DOWN HERE

From the leaflet distributed during Chicago's H-bomb alert last week.

Let's face it

If these sirens were in earnest and this drill were real, you would be among the 500,000 to 1½ million atomic fatalities.

Any Chicagoan caught in the 5 p.m. rush hour recognizes the futility of plans for evacuating the city.

Let's think together

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists (Albert Einstein, Former chairman) warned: "There is no defence against atomic bombs, and none is to be expected. Preparedness against atomic warfare is futile and, if attempted, will ruin the structure of the social order."

Let's admit that the only defence is to prevent war from ever occurring again.

Let's recognize that nations must find peaceful means of settling conflict, or blow themselves into oblivion.

Let's find new ways of living in peace, at the same time maintaining our own freedom and extending it to other peoples of the world.

Let's do something

Don't be discouraged. There's lots you can do for PREVENTIVE civil defence.

READ thoughtful pamphlets and pass them along to your neighbours.

PLAN a film and discussion programme on world affairs for your church, club, or union.

PROTEST to public officials when they advocate use of H-bombs and other mass destruction.

COMMEND your government when it makes a genuine move toward peace.

SPEAK UP against the closed minds of hate. There are many people who feel as you do.

But this is only the beginning of what you can do to stop war. The American Friends Service Committee, launched by the Quakers during World War I to provide relief to warring countries, has made peace one of its major concerns for more than three decades. The AFSC has issued a pamphlet SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER. The way advocated in this new pamphlet offers far more hope than misleading drills. We ask you to join us in speaking to the American people. Write or telephone: Chicago Regional Office, American Friends Service Committee, 59 E. Madison, Chicago 2, Central 6-2663.

NEW YORK ARRESTS

● FROM PAGE ONE

have come out of George Orwell, Judge Louis Kaplan, before whom we were arraigned, called us "murderers" of the 3,000,000 people killed by the hypothetical H-bomb which dropped on New York.

He set bail at the unprecedentedly high sum of \$1,500 (£535) for each person.

With great difficulty, the bail was raised and all 28 released pending the trial on June 23.

The demonstration got front-page publicity in the newspapers, since the civil defence test, involving Canada and Mexico as well as the US, was a major story.

living, these last three might take away the charge of us being subversives. That General MacArthur has been saying some right sensible things lately, but quotes from him are a little long and heavy for a one-man banner.

We had a few little things which we thought up ourselves, like, "No time to run, no place to hide," and "The H-bomb, our greatest security risk." All in all, our "little alert" went off pretty well, and we think we helped the Government to emphasize that there must never be another war, like you have been saying all along.

The Sun-Times wrote, "Woodward expressed hope that citizens will demand improvement if local defence organisations are found to be ineffective."

Well, they sure were ineffective according to the Chicago American: "Enemy aircraft swooped down on Chicago today, dropped an H-bomb that obliterated or damaged most of the city and suburbs, and killed an estimated 1,321,000 persons."

In the story it hastens to add, "of course, it didn't really happen..." The Chicago American sort of tends to play things up big, and some of the other papers reported a lower figure; but even so, the local defence organisation appears to me to be shot through with ineffectiveness.

And what of the city officials? Headline says, "Chicago's city officials ran the wrong way." (They are gone with the wind as it were.)

The Weather Bureau announced that "Wednesday's mythical H-bomb would have wiped out the emergency city government which fled to suburban LaGrange Park." Even city boys ought to know enough to wet their finger and hold it in the air to find out which way the wind's blowing.

I'm not much of a hand to write complaining about things, but the loss of 1,321,000 consumers, even if city officials are expendable, could affect our whole economy. So, I think I'll just write Mr. Woodward a letter. I trust things are going well there at the White House. Let me know if I can be of any help.

Your Friend,
LAWRENCE SCOTT.

5615 S. Woodlawn Ave.,
Chicago 37, Illinois.

BILLY GRAHAM FOR MOSCOW

BILLY GRAHAM is to visit Russia. This news was given to the American Quakers, now in the Soviet Union on a goodwill visit, by Alexander Karev, Russian Baptist leader, who will come to England in July for the World Baptist Alliance gathering.

The American Quakers arrived in Leningrad from Helsinki, Finland, on June 2.

"Within a few hours we found ourselves in a Baptist Church," writes Eleanor Zelliot in The Friend of today's date.

"We spoke to a Thursday night service to which possibly 2,000 had come. The Church was packed so full that an estimate was difficult."